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THE KOMEDY KIDS ON KAPITOL HILL
Senate Minority leader Knowland (l.) and Majority leader Johnson get the giggles after a recent White House meeting. In the Senate, under their leadership, a civil rights farce is being played to the tune of "Dixie"—without laughs.

IKE KEEPS HANDS OFF

Civil rights foes gaining in Senate; liberals collapse

By Lawrence Emery

BY A COMBINATION of massive frontal assault and a surprise flank attack, which caught the opposition off balance, Dixie rebels in the Senate last week had seized the initiative in the civil rights battle. Northern backers of the Administration bill, Democrats and Republicans alike, were timidly searching for roads of retreat while the White House, in effect, collapsed into embarrassed silence and withdrew from the contest.

The Southerners accomplished this in the first days of debate even before the civil rights measure was under formal consideration; all the talk last week was still on the motion of Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) to make the bill the pending order of business before the Senate.

WHAT WASN'T TOLD: The strange cause of this sudden development was the fact that the civil rights bill now pending is a little stronger and better than its authors let on or its backers knew. Throughout its history the present measure has been presented as a simple means to strengthen Federal enforcement of the right to vote through the injunctive process. The Attorney General would be authorized to seek a Federal court order against any interference with any qualified voter's right to vote. Violation of such a court order could be tried and punished, traditionally, by a judge without a jury. On the few times President Eisenhower has feebly defended the bill, he has called it "a very moderate, decent thing to do."

But there was a little more to the measure, as drafted in the Attorney General's office, than that. Part III of the four-part bill amended Section 1985 of Title 42 of the United States Code to permit Federal enforcement by the injunctive process of **all** civil rights long established in law and newer ones recently declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, including school desegregation. But no one spoke much of Part III; apparently even the staunchest backers of the bill failed to do their homework on it.

RECONSTRUCTION STATUTE: The failure of the bill's backers to acknowledge and defend Part III opened the way for the South's greatest coup. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), the rebels' biggest gun, looked up the amended section of existing law and found it to be part of an old Reconstruction Era statute protecting every "right or privilege of a citizen of the United States." He further found that Section 1985 automatically invoked Section 1993 of the same statute, which provides:

> "It shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process issued under sections 1981-1983 or 1985-1992 of this title, or as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and

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Herblock in Washington Post
"THAR SHE BLOWS"

NEW ATTACKS IN CONGRESS

Court ruling frees 2 more, Matles case is reopened

CONGRESSIONAL attacks on the Supreme Court continued last week as repercussions from the Court's recent decisions in the civil liberties field multiplied. Two persons previously convicted of contempt of Congress were freed, a denaturalization case was reopened and moves were under way to reexamine Smith Act convictions in Denver and Hawaii.

In Washington on July 9 a U.S. Court of Appeals announced its reversal of the conviction of Marcus Singer, professor of zoology at Cornell University, as a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the Watkins case. Prof. Singer had been indicted at the same time as Watkins in 1954 for refusing to inform on past associates before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Cornell U., which had suspended Prof. Singer from his teaching post but retained him on full salary for research work, promptly reinstated him as "a teaching member of the faculty."

THE PECK CASE: Strongest decision came with the acquittal of Seymour Peck by Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl on July 11 who ruled that the Senate Internal Security subcommittee had invaded his "protected freedoms of privacy, thought and association." Judge Youngdahl also held that the subcommittee in questioning Peck, a deskman on the New York **Times** Sunday magazine, had come too close to violating freeom of the press.

In his opinion, the judge underscored "the necessity of enabling writers to formulate ideas and associations freely and without fear of government retribution, in investigation or otherwise . . . It is difficult to draw the line between investigations of the political beliefs of newspapermen and investigations of news-

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Cincinnati Times-Star
FROM THE BENCH

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NUCLEAR WAR OR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The crisis of U.S. foreign policy

By Kumar Goshal

SECY. OF STATE DULLES' comment on the Soviet shakeup seemed to indicate that the more the world changes, the more Washington's foreign policy will remain the same. Though brief, his remarks were full of uneasy implications.

The Moscow upheaval, he said on July 8, has strengthened his conviction that communism is "a passing phase." He recalled that in his June 28 San Francisco speech he had declared his faith in "freedom's" winning out over communism in China and the Soviet Union. This was the basis of his foreign policy.

The San Francisco speech had been billed as a "major" policy speech. It followed leaks about differences in the Eisenhower Administration over Washington's attitude toward Peking, and the President's statement at a news conference that he was not as impressed as others with the need to maintain a rigid embargo on China trade.

WHO IS PERPLEXED? In that speech Dulles again demonstrated that, in foreign policy, the President proposes and the Secy. of State disposes. He categorically opposed relaxation of trade embargo, recognition of China or even cultural exchange.

Although the major Asian countries—India, Burma, even the U. S.' military ally Pakistan—had diplomatic relations with China, Dulles heaped praise on Chiang Kai-shek and said if Washington recognized Peking "the free Asian governments . . . would be gravely perplexed." UN recognition of Peking, he said, would practically destroy the organization.

DULLES—1950 AND 1957: The contention that the Peking regime merits "de facto" recognition because it is the established government in power "is not sound international law," he added.

(In his book **War or Peace**, 1950, Dulles wrote: "If the Communist Government of China in fact proves its ability

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THE MAIL BAG

Pauling's competence

JALISCO, MEXICO

In addition to his famed peacetime chemistry, Linus Pauling through the second world war was chairman of the National Science Research Council (explosives) and thus in a position to know all there was to know about the early stages of A-bomb development. It was for this great contribution to defense that he was awarded the highest civilian honor in the gift of the U S. government—the Medal of Merit.

Hugh Hardyman

Scientific parrot

SPRING HILL, KAN.

In the June issue of the **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,** Dr. Albert Schweitzer makes a strong appeal for the ending of bomb testing. On the next page is a reply by Prof. Willard Libby of the A.E.C. He minimized the danger and supports testing on data put forth by the A.E.C.

Here is the pitch that is so common to the defenders of our imperialism and nationalism: "We accept risk as payment for our pleasures, our comforts and our material progress. Here the choice is much clearer—the terrible risk of abandoning the defense effort which is so essential under the present condition to the survival of the free world against the small controlled risk from weapons testing."

Here we have another parrot in scientific garb defending the unmoral position of our senile and unscrupulous leaders in all departments of government.

Otis Wm. Johnson

Rinso white bombs

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Considering the giant size
It would be hard to find
More inoffensive nuclear blight,
Both H- and A-, they're Rinso white;
So how can people mind?

Instead of 50 million dead
There only would be five;
A great advance—who will complain?
Why, just that selfish group again
Who wish to stay alive.

Clare Heath

Death can be clean

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hail the new "clean" H-Bomb! The Atomic Energy Commission, fount of science if not wisdom, has promised us controlled destruction—minus radioactivity.

No more of those messy monsters that envelop us all in a radioactive death trap, that scatter leukemia and bone cancer to the far corners of the earth.

The "clean" bomb will deliver concentrated doses of clean death. Millions will be killed selectively. Cities will be wiped out one at a time, civilization bit by bit.

Congratulations to Ike, the AEC, and especially to their most humane nuclear gadgeteers.

Clever idea if it will work. But will it appease a world clamoring for the politicians and militarists to come to their senses, to stop tinkering with human destiny, halt the tests and scrap all bombs—clean or dirty?

Jeff Patrick

All those tornadoes

WASHINGTON, KAN.

The number of tornadoes recorded to date in the U. S. in 1957, far exceeds the record of any previous year.

One may be sure that the weather experts, most of whom are in the employ of the U. S. government, in attempting to find a cause for this phenomenon, will be careful not to say that the exploding of bombs, each of which equals millions of tons of TNT, could so disturb the natural condition of the atmosphere that the usual weather pattern might go "haywire."

Our government's policy of exploding A- and H-bombs is so definitely in the "sacred cow" category that any meteorologist even mildly critical of said policy would probably lose his good soft job.

Must the plague of destructive storms be added to the cancer, biological monstrosities and other evils produced by this ogres' spree?

Ernest B. Benne

Debt and profit

ROBINSON, ILL.

As regards world news you are publishing the best paper I am acquainted with, but you are neglecting national and world economics badly. If you would take the space to apprise the unthinking, uninformed of the following facts about our economic system, I feel sure it will increase your following:

All that honestly exists to pay for all goods and services on the market is exactly what was paid for producing and distributing those same things in the market. If and when the people buy all the things they have produced, they must spend all they have been paid and go in debt, to the extent of the markup representing profit.

If there was no debt there would be no profit for the profiteers. The present extensive industrial boom is the result of the government creating and spending plenty of debt. The money system is destroying the capitalist system sooner than it would otherwise be destroyed, because it is all borrowed into use and must be taken from the people in interest and taxes and returned to the lenders, and that is what causes depressions.

O. B. Bagshaw

Since 1894

TISHOMINGO, OKLA.

I am pastor of a rural church way back in the wooded hills of Oklahoma where the people are too poor to pay a salary; besides I don't preach for money. Been pastor here for 10 years. My text last time we met was: "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." I'm a farmer. Money is hard for me to get, but I must have the GUARDIAN. It would break my old heart to do without it. So please keep it coming to me—I don't want to miss a copy. Been in the movement all the time since 1894. I'm for a new party.

Monroe Jones

Traducers of the law

NEW YORK, N. Y.

After many trials and tribulations, our land was established on the foundation of liberty and justice for all. The Supreme Court, in handing down their recent decisions, endeavored to restore this concept. By attempting to subvert this basic American tradition once again, the traducers of the supreme laws in our land are undermining the good name of the highest court and our country.

Miriam Stern

Wall Street Journal.

". . . and now here is a policy that covers all the loopholes in that policy."

Fascists never sleep

NEW YORK, N. Y.

People who claim that they want free speech, religion, politics, conscience, etc., are usually too lazy to do anything about it. They would like these things if someone else would only do the work on keeping it so, but the claimers are more often worried about the moronic baseball scores than about liberty.

The U. S. Supreme Court has just reestablished the worth of the U. S. Constitution. The Northern newspapers are joining up with the Southern Dixiecrats and KKK to damage the Supreme Court justices by calling with rabble-rousing methods for the justices' impeachment.

What are you lazy liberty-lovers going to do? Get going! Get your letters into Congress. Support good decisions when you can. Remember, fascists are never lazy.

Leroy Dixon

Spelled out

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

With Germany's ever-increasing influence in NATO, perhaps it's time to change the name to Nordic Aryan Teutonic Oberfuehrer.

Nahum D. Bloom

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Spokane chapter of the Association of Card-Carrying Americans will sponsor memorial services for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at noon Wednesday at the Spokane hotel, said Frank Lilly, chapter president. The organization is composed of persons pledged to never invoke the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Spokane **Daily Chronicle,** 5/6.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. Conrad, Spokane, Wash.

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REPORT TO READERS

Operation Alert

THERE WERE AT LEAST 19 SANE PERSONS in the United States on Friday, July 12, 1957. Ten of them—including Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker,** and her three associate editors, Ammon Hennacy, Karran Dugan and Deane Mowrer—were standing peacefully in Sarah Delano Roosevelt Park, on New York's lower East Side, when they were arrested under the New York State Emergency Act for refusing to take shelter during Operation Alert 1957. This was the nationwide drill during a simulated surprise drop of 166 nuclear bombs on 155 of the country's major population areas; the "attack" opened an all-out hydrogen bomb war. The ten all pleaded guilty in Upper Manhattan Court and were sentenced to 30 days in the workhouse.

A young couple named Richard and Jane Moses carrying pacifist signs were arrested in Times Square. At a hearing on July 15 they also were sentenced to 30 days. In Detroit seven pacifists picketed a Go Home drill but, according to the N. Y. **Times,** "made no disturbance." Pacifists never do.

THE TOTAL "CASUALTIES" in New York numbered 2,339,012 dead and 2,261,238 severely injured. There was no report of the extent of damage from fallout; no doctors predicted the numbers of stillborn babies or idiots that would be produced. The bomb—a 20-megaton hydrogen bomb equivalent to 20,000,000 tons of TNT—was dropped over Governors Island in New York Harbor. Brooklyn was a mess; just didn't exist any more. Presumably the Dodgers escaped since they were playing the Cincinnati Reds—oops, sorry, Redlegs—in Jersey City.

Mayor Wagner termed the day's proceedings "excellent," no doubt because at least 40 per cent of New York's 8,000,000 persons escaped alive or not badly hurt.

In Washington President Eisenhower climbed into the bubble of a helicopter and was wafted off to a secret hideaway, presumably close to a golf course. (The radio the next morning reported that the President had motored to his home in Gettysburg and made immediately for the Country Club.) Shortly after the President arrived at the "Emergency White House," his grandson David was reported strolling down a wooded lane nearby with a bottle of strawberry soda pop.

"THAT WAS VERY NICE," said President Eisenhower as he climbed out of his bubble (in which a good many persons are beginning to suspect he has been for five years). He'd had a hard week. In between golf matches he'd been seeing Senator Russell of Georgia on the civil rights bill and had assured the Senator that he had no feelings about the bill; it was up to the Senate. In the Senate a washout was in prospect on the rights of 15,000,000 American Negroes. If we had a Gilbert & Sullivan team writing today, this extravaganza might well be entitled **Trial by Jury,** with a cast of buffoons, bigots and illiberal liberals.

In London, the American press reported last week, the Soviet delegate at the disarmament conference had rejected an American plan for a ban on Bomb tests. The facts: the U.S.S.R. proposed a ban of 2 to 3 years; the U.S. proposed 10 months; the Soviet said it was too brief a time: i.e., THEY turned US down.

So the American world spins on its head, day by day. Our leadership consists of testing incredible bombs on the Yucca Flats of Nevada and sending aircraft carriers to the Middle East to warn Jordanians that we intend to keep Jordan safe for kings and capital. And, of course, keeping a vast and incomprehensible Civil Defense system in operation against a potential onslaught from Albania.

JUST HOW CRAZY CAN WE GET? We approve wholeheartedly of small boys walking down wooded lanes with soda pop in July, or any month for that matter. But must the occasion be the "death" of 2,339,012 Americans in New York and God knows how many in the nation? When are grown men—in Washington and everywhere else—going to take off their toy helmets, give their whistles to their little boys and begin to think seriously about the world as it is, and should be?

Our felicitations to the 12 Americans in the workhouse in New York; and a fervent plea to the rest of our fellow Americans to get off their apathy and on the alert about filling the political vacuum in the U.S.A. About this we will have more to say soon.

Meanwhile, may we ask a favor of any potential attacker? Please don't drop any bombs on Albany, N. Y., during the noon lunch hour. On July 12 the warning went off by mistake shortly after noon there and the CD boys were really in a pickle, with the crowds and all. They'd be most grateful up there if you'd oblige. Thanks.

—THE GUARDIAN

INTERVIEW WITH WARSAW'S 'TOM PAINE'

The Polish Revolution after 8 months

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the GUARDIAN

TWO YEARS AGO, few persons not intimately acquainted with Warsaw's intellectuals or the Polish student movement, would have recognized the name Eligiusz Lasota; even fewer among the thousands in the gaily-decorated capital which acted as host to the 1955 World Youth Festival would have spotted the tall, slim young man as one of the architects of Poland's October Revolution of 1956.

However, even then, Lasota was busy transforming **Po Prostu**, once a modest student weekly, into one of the most powerful weapons in the fight against oppression and bureaucracy, exposing the people's discontents the way Tom Paine had done in another time and another place. By the summer of 1956, **Po Prostu** had become the most controversial and probably the most widely-read newspaper in Poland.

Its editor became the object of literary and political target practice on the part of the Old Guard and the hero of radical youth all over the country. Throughout the dramatic summer, the die-hards, then still firmly entrenched in the Communist Party's Central Committee, tried to silence him, but his popular support was too strong. October proved him right; in the elections which followed, Lasota was elected at the age of 28 as one of Poland's youngest deputies.

THE BASIC AIM: In an exclusive interview with this correspondent, Lasota was asked to define the basic aims of what Poles invariably refer to as the October Revolution. He said that one of the primary aims was to do away with an almost schizophrenic quality which had developed over the years between terminology and reality. Justice was to be justice once more and no longer "justice" in the Stalinist sense, socialism was to mean socialism. "People," he said, "awakened early in the morning by a knock on the door, would feel sure once again that the knock was the postman's or the milkman's."

Lasota said that the people as a whole regard CP secretary Gomulka now, as they did then, as a national hero, "with the exception of the Stalinists, of course, who still regard him as a traitor. But the Stalinists no longer hold any positions based on rank-and-file support." If the people were quieter today than last autumn, he said, "no nation can forever live in a state of ecstasy." The people's faith had been strengthened by the lack of demagogy.

PLAIN SPEAKING: Gomulka, Lasota felt, has always stated Poland's position honestly. There has been no white-wash and no sugar-coating. He could have used credits granted in recent months—Russian, French, German or American—to swamp the country with consumer goods to the future detriment of Polish finance and industry. But he maintained a high degree of austerity, with some popular concessions, and the people gave him their fullest support.

"I remember an incident," Lasota told me, "which I consider typical. It happened in October, before he became First Secretary of the Party. I went to call on him at the time, as head of a delegation. We asked him, 'What guarantees are there that any changes effected today

will be permanent?' Gomulka's answer was, 'You are the guarantee'."

NOT ON MARS: Lasota conceded that some on the Left felt that the October movement had not been carried far enough and therefore had been betrayed. This was a handful of extremists, he said, mainly students and young intellectuals, "the **wsciekli** [those suffering from rabies] as we used to call them, the ones who were so offended at any compromise that they shrugged and 'went home', so to speak, when October failed to live up to all their expectations."

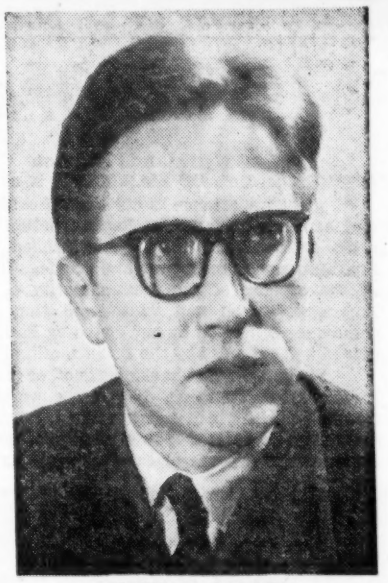
"There were others," he went on, "who wanted to establish socialism in Poland in total disregard of the Soviet Union—forgetting that Poland is not on Mars but in the very heart of Europe; forgetting, too, that what unites Poland with the rest of the socialist world is stronger than what divides them. Their kind of talk may make good copy for certain Western papers, but it is totally unrealistic. They are the same kind of people who insisted on having every previous party functionary removed from office, a position which Gomulka condemned from the beginning, since it could never have been achieved except by way of a bloody revolution. These people forget that the fight against Stalinism began inside the Party. Moreover, by attacking the entire party apparatus as such, they helped to drive many quite moderate officials into the arms of the conservatives."

ROLE OF THE PRESS: "The essential factor, as Gomulka has so often stressed," said Lasota, "is the unity of the party. We should stop using the terms 'Left' and 'Right' and stand clearly on the October program. In that sense, the vast majority of the party will **ipso facto** be the 'Left.' Those who oppose the program, by their opposition, put themselves beyond the pale."

Before October, Lasota said, the strength of the Polish press lay in giving full expression to popular demands and popular discontents. Then every worker wanted to read **Nowa Kultura**—the leading literary weekly and originally addressed exclusively to the intellectuals—or **Po Prostu**, born on the college campus. For months **Nowa Kultura** carried hardly a single article on the arts but gave itself over wholly to politics. However, some time after October there began a decided drop in the inflated circulation of these papers: the workers, having obtained certain political demands, again became interested in such things as wages, the high cost of living, etc.

CONSTRUCTIVE WATCH: Much of the theoretical discussion was out of step with day-to-day realities. The editors then gradually returned to their former interests and today **Nowa Kultura** is once again the country's main literary voice. **Po Prostu**—from which Lasota has resigned as editor, but to which he still gives much time—today puts much more emphasis on local conditions and individual problems and less on the general discussion.

"Today," Lasota said, "the job of the press is the organic integration of the October policies. While the press should never stop being critical, it is also its duty to work toward the achievement of positive programs. Speaking as a journalist, our primary job was the destruction of Stalinism. We must now replace it in a positive sense. We support the present leadership in full, but no leadership is either omniscient or infallible. The press must always be a watch-dog, but it must also develop a sense of constructive responsibility."



ELIGIUSZ LASOTA
The people are the guarantee

TO OUR READERS: In a special message to readers of the GUARDIAN Lasota said: "The new and most vital development today is the fact that progressives the world over have found a common language. The curtains—whether iron or otherwise—are at last being removed. Before, we used to imagine that communication was possible only with those who agreed with every iota of every rigid principle we stood for. Today we can speak with many with whom we are united on many things; and by agreeing to disagree on certain issues, we widen the total area of agreement.

"We are glad of every new contact with America, but we shall be especially happy to develop closer contact with all the progressive forces in the U. S. If we were ever divided in the past, it was primarily by a bogeyman of our own mutual making. With the removal of false premises, all that unites us will grow stronger each day."

'CRUSADE FOR CITIZENSHIP'

Tuskegee Negroes use economic pressure in fight for ballot

By Eugene Gordon

NEGRO CITIZENS of Tuskegee, Macon County, Ala., concede that if their enemy smites them on the right cheek they should turn the left, as the Bible admonishes; but, when white merchants of that town complained that a boycott by Negroes was un-Christian, one Negro woman explained that she had only two cheeks, and the White Citizens Council had smitten her on both. She reminded reporters that her Bible said nothing about her enemy's smiting her anywhere else. If he did, she said, she had a right to retaliate. And she'd still be on the Lord's side.

If Booker T. Washington had not founded the Normal and Industrial Institute there in 1880 Tuskegee would be just another Southern town drowsing under moss-hung shade trees. Persons who argue that Tuskegee's lumber, cotton-seed and cotton-ginning industries would have been built there anyway, readily admit that the government built its hospital for Negro veterans there because of Tuskegee Institute. Average per-capita Negro income in Tuskegee is estimated at about $3,000, above average for Alabama.

A 20-YEAR FIGHT: The white supremacists' first blow was struck in Tuskegee 20 years ago when they refused to register Negroes to vote. Tuskegee Institute Dean Charles G. Gomillion, president of the 20-year-old Tuskegee Civic Assn., wrote the Justice Dept. last week that several times during this period "there was no functioning Board of Registrars in Macon County for Negroes"; that twice during that time "the county was without a Board at all for 16 to 18 months."

Dean Gomillion said that despite many ruses to limit Negro registration this year some 400 Negro Tuskegeeans succeeded in registering. About 600 white persons were registered. State Sen. Sam Engelhardt, collaborating with white Tuskegeeans—including 40 white merchants dependent on Negro trade—designed a bill to alter Tuskegee's city lines so as to exclude all but 12 of the 400 Negro registrants but none of the 600 white. Alabama's Senate approved the bill and the House passed it 80 to 0. Last week the bill became law without Gov. Folsom's signature.

In protest against the gerrymandering, Negroes refused to buy from the white

Eaton in Baltimore Afro-American
"How many bubbles in a bar of soap?"

merchants. A theatre and a fish market were forced to close. Many Negroes travel up to 40 miles to buy what WCC members would like to sell them. Negro farmers have not been brought into the protest; many of them are in debt to the merchants. According to Pittsburgh **Courier** correspondent Trezzvant W. Anderson (7/13), WCC merchants "have already made overtures to the Negro leaders to call off the non-buying crusade." The Birmingham **News** reported merchants' cries of "pressure on Negro shoppers by other Negroes." Police Chief O. L. Hodnett said he had received numerous complaints that "Negroes had intimidated other Negroes into boycotting white merchants." They succeeded in getting one woman to sign a warrant. She later withdrew it.

COULDN'T STAND IT: Engelhardt, outraged at the Negroes' resistance, told them what to expect if somehow his bill did not become law. Macon County's 27,000 Negroes would wake up some morning chopped into small groups among the predominantly white counties. He has prepared a bill which would do precisely that. He told the **N. Y. Times** (7/6):

"Civil rights legislation is going to pass the United States Senate either this year or next, and we're going to be prepared for it. We couldn't stand to see a Negro in the Alabama legislature."

Thousands of copies of a leaflet titled "For Your Information" have wafted down over Tuskegee:

- Immediate withdrawal of the bill to reduce the size of Tuskegee.
- A functioning Board of Registrars to register all qualified citizens.
- Extension of city limits to include other Negro communities.
- Adequate recreation facilities, open to all citizens.
- Employment at all levels in those businesses depending on [Negro] earnings for their success.

"We are engaged in a crusade for citizenship, not a boycott," Mrs. S. N. Locklear, manager of a guest house on the campus, told a reporter. "Boycott is an evil word, and it hurts," said Rev. T. S. Martin, pastor of Mt. Olivet AME Church. "Knowing the Negro as I do, I do not think he wants to hurt anybody."

A NEW NOVEL BY DR. DUBOIS

'The Ordeal of Mansart'

By Eslanda Robeson

"THE ORDEAL OF MANSART"* is a book of very great importance in our time, because it describes and explains, in terms of Reconstruction history, how a few arrogant, determined, unprincipled, greedy white Southerners secured power and privilege for themselves at the expense of the great majority of their fellow Americans—black and white—and thus negated the democracy conceived by our Founding Fathers and confirmed and extended by the Emancipation Proclamation.

This pattern of behavior was not, of course, peculiar to the American scene. It was the world pattern of colonialism, in which a few white Western Europeans (same type) secured power and privilege for themselves at the expense of the vast majority of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe.

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

It is widely believed—by Americans, as well as by many other peoples—that the U. S. is not a colonial power, that it is, in fact, anti-colonial. It is therefore important to note that today the U. S. sits in the UN Trusteeship Council as a colonial (administering) power and aligns itself with other colonial powers on important issues.

It is important to understand this undemocratic behavior, to learn something of how it came about, so that we can try to correct it—or at least try to defend ourselves against it. To this end Dr. DuBois' book is a fine contribution.

DURING RECONSTRUCTION (the period following the terrible Civil War) the defeated South and the Nation were "reconstructed" to their present form. The Negro slaves were technically freed, the great plantation holdings were technically confiscated and redistributed, and universal franchise was technically introduced. Technically.

The Ordeal of Mansart covers this determining period of American history with insight and clarity and with enormous scholarship. Dr. DuBois shows that the fatal choices made then are still clung to today; some of the principal characters speaking in his book could well be speaking today.

The South lost the Civil War, lost slavery, but irrationally and illegally clung to the customs of slavery. It still does so. The Negro people won the vote, but very soon the South refused to allow them to vote. It still refuses. The law of the land was proclaimed for the South as well as for the North, in confirmation of the ideal that all men (including Negroes) are created equal and that all citizens have the right to vote.

Since that time the few powerful and unscrupulous white leaders of the South have not only effectively opposed the implementation of the law of the land in the South; they have extended their destructive influence to the North through the Congress. **The Ordeal of Mansart** shows how this subversion began, how it was consolidated and extended.

In the fluid period immediately following the Civil War the emancipated Negroes tried to assume their new responsibilities as citizens. They campaigned in elections and won seats in government in their states. My grandfather, Francis Lewis Cardozo, was one of these; he was elected and served as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of South Carolina in the 1870's.

But these Negroes were adrift in a sea of white enemies: wealthy landowners furious at the loss of their great plantations and black slave labor; and Poor Whites, now desperately struggling for a chance to become Rich Whites, and resentful and frightened at the prospect of Negro competition in the labor market. The former landowners were trying to regain their land and their political domination.

IN THIS CHAOTIC PERIOD the people of the South—and in this book particularly the people of South Carolina—were trying to find their way to security and progress under the new conditions. Dr. DuBois describes the three main groups of people—the white southern "aristocrats" ("Quality"), personified by Colonel John Breckinridge and his wife Clarice Du Bignon Breckinridge; the Poor Whites ("Trash") personified by Scroggs; and the Negroes, former slaves, personified by Mansart and Aunt Betsy.

The Negro recognized that to attain political effectiveness, he would have to join with the Poor Whites or with the white Quality. To which group could he turn for encouragement and justice, or even sympathetic understanding? In Dr. DuBois' book you come to know the people and to understand the measure of their dilemma.

AUNT BETSY, the once handsome, dignified, black wisewoman, was the counsellor. Tom Mansart, married to her daughter, was the trusted black leader of organized Negro labor in South Carolina, with 10,000 union members influencing 50,000 votes. Aunt Betsy, uninvited, told a union meeting planning strategy for a forthcoming election:

> "The world is going to hell . . . . Northern carpetbaggers . . . stealing all they can git their hands on. Southern Trash must go. Stop the stealing. Only one refuge: white Quality. Git into the Legislature and vote the Quality back. Them and the black worker can save Carolina. . . ."

Her plan was to stay in Carolina, in Charleston, and make its black folk rule, together with white aristocrats.

So Tom Mansart was elected to the South Carolina Legislature. Aunt Betsy then urged him and his union to ally themselves with the "real Quality folk of old time." Go and offer Colonel Breckinridge such help as you can give, she advised Tom. With some misgivings, Tom went.

But Colonel Breckinridge had already made an alliance with Scroggs, a leader of the Poor Whites:

> "Scroggs," said Colonel Breckinridge, "we're facing a new world and you and I have got to stand together . . . . We have got to put Negroes back in their places. Of course, you realize, Scroggs, that we want this State to be white, ruled by whites for whites. But the Negroes are here and we need their work. . . . Naturally, it is to your interest as well as ours to keep Negroes at work as contented laborers. At any rate, this will be a matter of law, and white folk will make the law."

To which Scroggs replied:

> "We agree about 'niggers'. They've got to be put in their places even if we have to kill a few thousand. We'll build a new world with 'niggers' at the bottom to do such work as no white man should stoop to, with white labor on top. . . .
>
> "So then this is the clear understanding, Colonel Breckinridge. We'll help crush and kill the 'niggers'; you'll take over the State with the help of our votes. We get the best jobs and good wages. We get schools and land and chances to be as big as we can. 'Niggers' will be kept down."
>
> "You have my word on this understanding on the honor of a gentleman," answered John Breckinridge.

Soon afterwards this gentleman of Quality listened to Tom Mansart, who also came to offer votes. Mansart put his case thus:

> "What we needs is work and fair play. We wants freedom and justice. Then for our children we wants a chance to learn. . . . We don't want no more cheating, lynching, and mobs. . . . What we needs is law and order; honesty from employers . . . goodwill of all people toward each other; not hatred, not murder. Colonel Breckinridge, we'se helped to make this Nation rich and powerful. . . . We wants to be men; not white men, but men. . . . Now, Colonel, will you and your folks promise us this much justice? Will you come [to our union meeting] and tell us plain just what you stand for and what you think we should do?. . . We promise to listen and trust the word of a Breckinridge."

John Breckinridge promised, "on the word of a gentleman," that he would go.

THE COLONEL'S WIFE, Clarice, deeply troubled, discussed the visits of the two men—tactfully, modestly, as was prescribed for a southern Gentlewoman:

> "I have no desire to meddle in politics, dear, and doubtless you know your business best; yet in a sense I fought these post-war years by your side. I cannot help seeing and thinking. The South was right. Negroes should still be slaves. But the South was beaten, and Negroes legally are free and are voters. I am a law-abiding person. By edict of this country Negroes are free and they should be treated as free. . . . In self-defense you are allying yourself with the Poor Whites. I wonder—I do not pretend to be sure, but I wonder—if a sounder alliance could not be made with Negroes."

But John Breckinridge could not face up to the new situation; he told her:

> "I want a world ruled by those born to rule; that natural superiority I will share, indeed, can share with no one; not with low-class whites, certainly not with inferior breeds of half-men (Negroes)."

John Breckinridge never went to the union meeting. Mrs. Breckinridge, sure that he would keep his word, went to meet him there. There was a riot in Charleston that night and she was caught up in it. Tom Mansart, with reckless courage, tried to see her safely home. He was brutally lynched for his gallantry. Aunt Betsy, outraged and disgusted, baptized his newly born son with his blood.

MRS. BRECKINRIDGE, with Mansart's blood on her conscience, with injustice, betrayal and corruption all around her, could no longer accept her world. She committed suicide. Colonel Breckinridge, knowing in his heart that he was no gentleman, fled, as cowards do, to his old neglected plantation. There, it remained for Sanford, his mulatto foreman and steward and unacknowledged close blood relative, who had successfully recouped the Colonel's fortune for him, to turn over his stewardship together with an evaluation and an indictment:

> "Sir, I have decided to quit work here and go North. I want to live like a man—and I don't want to kill nobody. I have been honest, hard-working and faithful to my trust, as your records will prove. You've treated me like you treated your horses . . . My job is done now . . . I am going to leave this hell on earth, this South Carolina, which strutted and boasted and led this Nation to the devil. When the whole country was fawning on this State and the South, fearing to oppose your disgraceful arrogance, you could have anything in reason. You chose war and destruction. Then your 'niggers' came to your rescue. Never in history has a humble peasantry furnished such fruitful service to rescue fools. They toiled for you, they gave you schools, and votes; they divided your land, they tried to make you human and decent. In return you mobbed and murdered them, stole from their poverty, lied about them over earth and time, and then confronted them, helpless and unarmed, with armed hooligans masked as leaders of civilization. You won. You crucified their leaders . . . You have swept all knowledge of these great leaders of American democracy from the record. . . .
>
> "But you, John Breckinridge, you have not won. You'll never win. The black leadership has not been killed. It is not lost. It has spread to the Nation, and the Nation is heir to what this blind State has lost. White Carolina has nothing left; not a statesman, not a poet, not an artist, not a writer."

Aunt Betsy, bitterly disappointed, did what she could to direct the education of Tom's son, Manuel, and to protect him from the hatred of the South. She knew that the future of the South lay with the coming generations, and knew that they must be educated for responsibility and courage.

The remainder of the book tells about Manuel Mansart's struggles to become a man and a citizen in these United States.

THE ORDEAL OF MANSART by W. E. B. DuBois. Mainstream Publishers. 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. 316 pp. $3.50.

WORSHIPPERS

On Sunday, July 7, in Brooklyn's Church of the Holy Trinity, Rev. Wm. Howard Melish (shown here with Mrs. Melish) sat in a pew while Rev. Herman Sidener conducted the service. The State Court of Appeals ruled on July 3 that Dr. Melish could not conduct services pending final decision next fall on Dr. Melish's appeal from a decision upholding the validity of Dr. Sidener's installation as rector. The congregation and the vestry stand with Dr. Melish.

Civil rights bill

(Continued from Page 1)

enforce the due execution of [those] sections. . . ."

This added nothing new to the current civil rights bill, but simply brought it into conformity with existing law. The President since 1795 has had authority to use the armed forces in the enforcement of the judicial process and that power is embodied in a half-dozen other statutes, the latest of which was affirmed by Congress last year and became effective on Jan. 1 this year.

THE REBEL YELL: But Administration bungling in failing to acknowledge, explain or defend Part III gave Sen. Russell his chance to wave the bloody shirt. He delivered a major address in the Senate on July 2 in which he charged that the civil rights bill had been drafted with "studied misrepresentation" and was "the most cunningly devised and contrived piece of legislation I have ever seen." With that, he set the stage for a new Civil War:

"If you are driven to pass this bill in its present form, you will cause unspeakable confusion, bitterness and bloodshed in a great section of our common country. If you propose to move into the South in this fashion, you may as well prepare your concentration camps now, for there are not enough jails to hold the people of the South who will oppose the use of raw Federal power forcibly to commingle white and Negro children in the same schools and places of public entertainment. . . . I unhesitatingly assert that this section of the bill was deliberately drawn to enable the use of our military forces to destroy the system of separation of the races in the Southern states at the point of a bayonet, if it be necessary to take this step."

DID EISENHOWER KNOW? The Russell blockbuster visibly shook the President at his press conference the next day and his response to questions seemed to bear out a charge made by Russell: "I would be less than frank if I did not say that I doubt very much whether the full implications of this bill have ever been explained to President Eisenhower."

The President, asked if, in view of the Russell charges, he would be willing to eliminate Part III and make it a simple right-to-vote measure, publicly confessed his ignorance of his own bill: "Well, I would not want to answer this in detail, because I was reading part of the bill this morning and I—there were certain phrases I didn't completely understand. So, before I make any more remarks on that, I would want to talk to the Attorney General and see exactly what they do mean."

The President since has seen not only Brownell, but had a 50-minute conference with Sen. Russell and has talked with Sen. Knowland. On July 11 Knowland disclosed that the White House attitude now is hands off. The President, he said, has decided to leave the whole matter to the Senate, makes no minimum demands, and will offer no proposals one way or the other.

Haynie in Greensboro Daily News
"Civil Rights a comin'"

BEND WITH THE WIND: Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), who piloted the bill intact through the House, said: "There seems to be no fight in the Administration. The President bends with every wind. I can't see a Truman or a Roosevelt—Teddy or FDR—yielding so pusillanimously. We liberal Democrats went out on a limb in fighting for this bill, a limb which the Administration now would cut off. . . . Apparently the Administration began with a bang and now goes out with a whimper."

Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) sent a wire to the President urging him to make "a public statement reaffirming your strong support of this moderate legislation. To do less than that, to allow these reports [of compromise] to gain currency by your silence, sabotages the efforts of the House and of us all in the Senate, regardless of party affiliation, who believe that every American is entitled to the privileges of first-class citizenship. If ever the prestige and voice of the office of the Presidency were needed, it is now. Please act."

THE COLLAPSE: But there was no action and the rout of the liberals seemed to be on. Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney proposed an amendment to grant jury trials in all civil rights cases except those affecting the right to vote. The Washington **Post**, heretofore a staunch supporter of the bill, saw merit in the O'Mahoney amendment and suggested that a bill be devised "that will give minimum offense to the South."

The N. Y. **Times** suggested that the bill be revised to deal only with the right to vote. Walter Lippmann also recommended that the right-to-vote issue be separated from the matter of Federal enforcement of school integration. Since the Russell broadside, the attitude of liberals in and out of Congress seems to be: "Civil rights? Well, sure, but not too much of them."

NO QUARTER: Meanwhile preparations were going ahead for what many expected to be the longest and most momentous filibuster in at least 64 years. There was still a possibility that by a last-minute bargain the big debate may be put off till next January. But the hard-core Dixie rebels weren't giving in. Most of them ruled out any compromise. Many predicted bloodshed if the bill should pass. All of them pledged a finish fight. Sen. Russell said as the debate began: "God give us strength that each and every one of us will acquit himself as a man, as our people expect us to do as this cause proceeds." Said Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi: "We will fight . . . until we fall in our tracks, if necessary."

ACCUSED OF VIOLENCE AT CLINTON HIGH

Tennessee segregationists' case seen as civil rights test of trial-by-jury

FIFTEEN TENNESSEE segregationists and New Jersey anti-integration agitator John Kasper went on trial before U. S. Dist. Judge Robert L. Taylor and an all-white jury in Knoxville on July 8. Knoxville is 20 miles from Clinton, Anderson County town of 4,000, where the defendants were accused of interfering with orderly integration of eight Negroes with 700 white high school pupils last fall. Judge Taylor signed both the Clinton High School desegregation order and the injunction forbidding interference.

The debate on the civil rights bill in the Senate is expected to be directly affected by this first jury trial for violation of a Federal injunction in an integration case. Southern opponents of the rights measure want to amend it to provide trial by jury for indicted violators; proponents doubt that Southern white juries will convict white persons accused of interfering with a Negro's right to vote. The defendants are charged specifically with acting in concert to commit threatening or violent acts in the school vicinity. Tennessee's Gov. Clement called out the National Guard after the Rev. Paul W. Turner, a white Baptist minister, was mobbed for escorting Negro pupils into the school.

NO KINDLY FEELINGS: Four Negroes showed up in the 31-member jury panel. One was rejected by court instruction; the others by challenges of the 11 defense attorneys. The 10 men and two women finally selected represent a cross section of white Anderson County community life—an assistant bank cashier, a school teacher, a farmer, a railroad machinist, housewives and store owners. One Negro excused was 28-year-old Albert Cloud, bank messenger, who said he "couldn't feel kindly" toward Kasper, founder and exec. secy of the Seaboard White Citizens Council of Washington, D.C., four times arrested in Tennessee for fomenting resistence to integrating Clinton High.

Defense attorneys made use of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling last month in the Jencks case that pertinent secret information in FBI files should be available to defendants in criminal cases. The Clinton defendants were allowed access to written statements made by witnesses to the FBI.

Court ruling

(Continued from Page 1)

papers. For newspapers consist of news stories and editorials; and news stories and editorials are written by newspapermen. To inhibit the freedom of thought and association of newspapermen is to infringe upon the freedom of the press. It is also a temptation to those investigating newspapermen to wander into the field of press content, and at times during these hearings the subcommittee was unable to resist even this direct invasion."

Peck, like Watkins, had testified freely about his own past activities but would not discuss past associates. Judge Youngdahl said: "The questions which Peck refused to answer infringed upon his basic First Amendment freedoms . . . The infringement stems from the subcommittee's action in summoning an individual, compelling him to disclose his past political associations, and insisting that he reveal the views and associations of his friends and colleagues. In so doing, the subcommittee invaded the individual's protected freedoms of privacy, thought and association. The effects of such an invasion upon the life of an individual, his family, and his friends, are often disastrous and the community as a whole is seriously harmed."

THE MATLES CASE: In New York on July 11 Federal Judge Walter Bruchhausen directed that the denaturalization trial of James J. Matles be reopened as a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the Jencks case. Matles is director of organization for the independent United Electrical Workers union.

During the trial Judge Bruchhausen upheld the prosecution in its refusal to make available to the defense reports supplied the FBI by government witnesses. In the Jencks case the Supreme Court ruled that such material must be made available to the defense. Government witnesses to be cross-examined in the new Matles hearing will be Maurice Malkin, Joseph Zack Kornfeder and Robert Pitcoff.

Herblock in Washington **Post**
"Can you see me now?"

U. S. Circuit Courts of Appeals have ordered re-argument or new moves in both the Denver and Hawaii Smith Act cases as a result of another recent Supreme Court decision. Similar steps have already been taken in the St. Louis and Detroit Smith Act cases.

UPSET CONGRESSMEN: In Congress Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) has called for impeachment of those Supreme Court Justices who backed the recent decisions. He charged the Court has "jeopardized the security" of this nation more than "any other branch of the government in the history of the country."

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R.-N.Y.) said the House may have to conduct its own contempt trials because the Court "has gone too far in its zeal to protect the rights of individuals and in so doing has endangered the safety of the great mass of our people."

On July 11 it became known that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has ordered its legal counsel to prepare a report on the effects of recent Supreme Court rulings; there were rumors that the committee was considering changing its name and its rules of procedures. A separate new subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee was also studying the recent decisions and planned its first public hearing for July 18 with Justice Dept. officials as the first witnesses.

A bill that would nullify or seriously modify the Court ruling in the Jencks case making pertinent FBI reports available to defendants in criminal prosecutions was side-tracked in the Senate because of the civil rights filibuster.

'SEDITION' CASE

Powell trial Dec. 2 in San Francisco

DECEMBER 2 was set as the date for the trial in San Francisco of John W. (Bill) Powell, his wife Sylvia and Julian Schuman on charges of sedition. The charges grew out of material published in the **China Monthly Review**, published in Shanghai. The three defendants were associated with the magazine. The government maintains that they published false statements about the U.S.

Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman gave the defense until Sept. 1 to get from China the names of all the witnesses and statements as to their willingness to testify; the lawyers were told to outline what the witnesses would testify to. The defense foresaw considerable difficulty in obtaining the information, since their lawyer has been refused a passport to go to China.

Good morning, Mr. and Missile America!

"AVCO was the most active issue of the day and made another new high following its receipt of a huge contract for missile parts. General Electric got a similar contract and also rose. But the aircraft as a group were weak, reflecting talk of a stretchout in military spending and progress on disarmament . . . . Lockheed . . . was fairly firm when the Air Force announced a $73,000,000 contract with the company for the mass production of the Snark long-range missile. For some time market analysts have been emphasizing those companies that are in missile work as against those limited to conventional aircraft."

—From the daily financial report by Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis, members N. Y. Stock Exchange, broadcast July 3 at 7:30 a.m., WQXR, N. Y.

U. S. foreign policy

(Continued from Page 1)

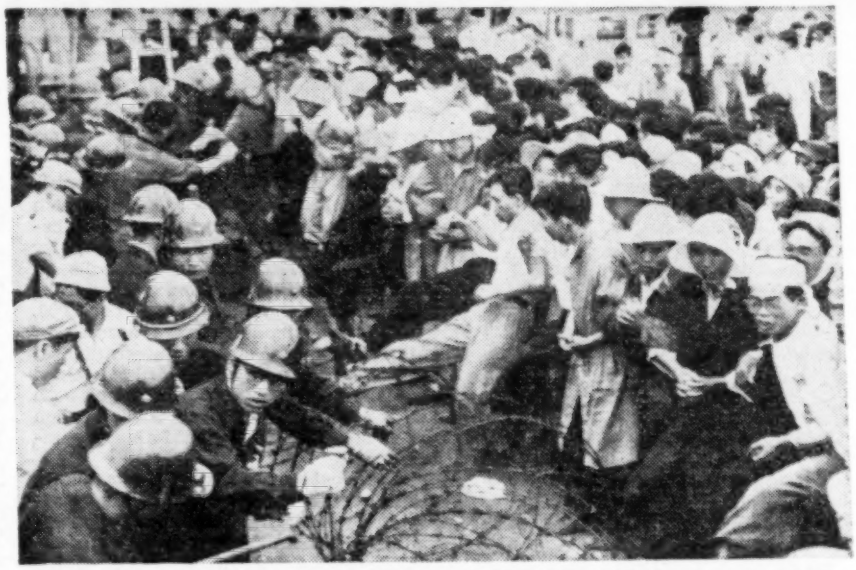
to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the UN. Communist Governments today dominate more than 30 percent of the population of the world. We may not like that fact; indeed, we do not like it at all. But if we want to have a world organization, then it should be representative of the world as it is.")

Dulles' July 8 remarks raised havoc among his own emissaries abroad. "Hard-working, honest, and well-informed U.S. State Dept. minions in Far Eastern posts," **Christian Science Monitor** correspondent Gordon Walker reported from Tokyo (7/10), "are still rankling over Mr. Dulles' ['passing phase'] observation. They are wondering what has happened to all of the laboriously collected reports which they have sent to Washington—the bulk of which give solid reasons why Mr. Dulles' claim is not justified."

THE REAL CHINA: Walker reported: (1) "None of the criticism voiced" in China since "lifting of the lid on freedom of expression" have called for "any alternative to the regime now in power"; (2) no Southeast Asian country believed that "the Red China regime is merely transitory"; (3) "Even on Formosa . . . there is little genuine feeling that anything short of a third world war would unseat" the Peking regime; (4) Over 1,200 representatives "of various nonofficial [Japanese] organizations" have reported that under the Mao government in China "significant advances have been made in industry, transportation and communications, and that there are no grounds for believing that this type of material progress will not continue."

Nevertheless, Washington continues its "policy of strength" in Asia, pinning its hopes on Chiang and S. Korea's Syngman Rhee and bases in Japan. Partly as a result of popular Japanese pressure and partly because of a command shift in the Western Pacific area, the U. S. recently announced it would withdraw American ground troops from Japan. At the same time it was announced that the U. S. was strengthening its forces in S. Korea.

MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT: The **Monitor's** Gordon Walker reported from Tokyo (7/2, 7/5) that on June 21 foreign correspondents were roused in the middle of the night by the U. S. Far East Command for a "top secret mission." Only after the plane had taken off were they told that their destination was Panmunjom, S. Korea, where the U.S. was strengthening its forces "because of the continued N. Korean military build-up." But neither that night nor later was any other information given the reporters.



FOR THE AMERICANS MORE RUNWAY; FOR THE JAPANESE LESS LAND

At the Tachikawa Air Base last week 1,500 Japanese demonstrators protested the lengthening of a runway for U. S. aircraft which means displacing more Japanese. They kicked a hole in the fence at the base and it took 2,500 steel-helmeted Japanese riot police seven hours to cool off the tempers.

The much-advertised "build-up" has been a phony from the start. Walker said the neutral nations' truce supervisors have never found any evidence of it. Terrifying details were furnished only by the Rhee government, whose pronouncements "frequently have proved to be exaggerated." Walker said that the Japanese, who would be inevitably involved in any war in that area, were convinced that "if there is any danger of attack in Korea, the danger is that it will come from the south."

In Japan, according to Walker, the announced strengthening of U. S. forces in S. Korea "has drawn some sharp comments." Since the Japanese believe that neither N. Korea nor China wants war, they consider the U. S. move "a provocative act."

OUR GERMAN BASTION: There was trouble for U. S. policy in W. Germany, too, where opposition to nuclear weapons was building up. In this European anchor of U.S. policy last month, the opposition Social Democratic Party virtually accused Chancellor Adenauer's spokesman Felix von Eckardt of deception in asserting that introduction of nuclear weapons in the West German armed forces had not begun. "The political decision to rearm the armed forces with atomic weapons already has been made," the Social Democrats said (**Times**, 6/29). On July 2 Adenauer's Christian Democrats in the Bundestag (parliament) sabotaged a bill sponsored by their party for West German atomic development because the Social Democrats introduced the phrase "for peaceful purposes" into an amendment.

AN EVALUATION: If Dulles' assumption that the recent events in Moscow had weakened the Soviet regime was valid, it would logically call for a relaxed U. S. posture; for a tough attitude would seem to be the most effective way of rallying the Soviet people behind their government. On the other hand—as all reports from Moscow seemed to indicate— if the Soviet regime is stronger as a result of the ouster of the dissident leaders, it would seem to be even more vital for the U. S. to meet the U.S.S.R. halfway, in order to end the cold war stalemate.

All evidence points to the fact that the U. S. cannot effect the collapse of the socialist regimes. Gradual relaxation of tensions is obviously the order of the day, and it could begin most auspiciously, and with the least loss of face for anyone, at the London disarmament conference, where the U. S. shows little desire to compromise.

AN "UNKNOWN WORLD": "We had better assume the Russians do want an agreement," Walter Lippmann said (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/2), "and that they are prepared to pay a considerable, though not an enormous, price for it." A week later, after the Moscow events, Lippmann said that a strengthened Soviet Union would be willing "to promote not an agreement and not a settlement but peaceful co-existence."

In the same vein, Soviet CP chief Khrushchev on July 11 in Prague pointed out that "in many cases of marriages without love" couples have "come to understand each other." He told the U.S.: "Let us do it. Without love, but getting on together."

Will the U. S. agree to get on together? "For Washington," the London **New Statesman** said (7/6), "an agreement on nuclear tests . . . would mean a venture into an unknown world, in which the rituals of the Cold War no longer make sense; in which cherished dogmas—on China, Germany, NATO—would become heresies, and from which patron saints—Adenauer, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee—would have to be ejected." But, the **New Statesman** asked, can this prospect seem "more fearful than a world dominated by nuclear certainties of the arms race?"

Success story

SHE SAID she had been a prostitute for two years and that it was the "only business there is," police reported.

At the time of her arrest she reportedly told police she had "made more money in the past two years than my parents have made all their lives."

—L.A. Mirror, 5/1

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CALENDAR

Berkeley, Calif.

VICTOR PERLO speaks on **SAT. AUG. 10**, 8 P.M., on Economics of Disarmament. A Report on **FALLOUT IN QUINCY, CALIF. AL RICHMOND**, Editor and Supreme Court acquitted Smith Act victim speaks at 1819 - Tenth Street, Berkeley. Donation 50c. Auspices: East Bay Peoples World Readers.

Chicago

AMERICAN SOCIALIST CLUB ANNUAL PICNIC Sun., July 28th in Jackson Park, 60th near Stoney, 12 till——, Food, Refreshments, Games. Everybody Welcome.

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Detroit

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISION ON AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES" will be the subject of a talk by **ERNEST GOODMAN**, Detroit attorney, **TUESDAY, JULY 23**, 8 p.m, Hotel Tuller, Parlor D (air conditioned). Ausnices: Liberties Appeal Committee for Michigan Smith Act Defendants, P. O. Box 715, Linwood Sta., Detroit.

New York

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COWLEY FOR MAYOR

SWP names 4 to run in N. Y.

A PROPOSAL that the City Council conduct a referendum vote that would permit the people of New York to express their view on whether or not nuclear tests should be halted will be a main campaign plank of the Socialist Workers Party which is entering four candidates in the November elections.

A city-wide SWP conference this month named Joyce Cowley as candidate for Mayor, Lillian Kiezel for President of the City Council, Harold Robbins for Comptroller, and Alvin Berman for Brooklyn Borough President. The four are subject to ratification by a nominating convention which will coincide with collection of nominating petitions required for a place on the ballot for independent candidates.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.
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CARNEGIE HALL JULY 24

Dennis to speak at N. Y. meeting

EUGENE DENNIS will speak Wed., July 24, on the recent Supreme Court decisions at the welcome home reception for Communist leaders who have recently been released from prison after serving sentences under the Smith Act. The reception will be at Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and 7th Av., Manhattan, under the auspices of the Joint Self-Defense Committee.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will make her first appearance in about three years. She was sentenced in the second New York Smith Act trial and served 28 months in Alderson, W. Va., prison.

Robert Thompson, who will also speak at the rally, became a political refugee in 1951, was seized in 1953 and was given a four-year contempt sentence in addition to his three-year Smith Act sentence. Other recently released Communist leaders who will be honored at the rally are Pettis Perry, Alexander Bittelman, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson and Louis Weinstock.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"There's the boss up to his old tricks around contract negotiating time."

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Children's world

By Wilfred Burchett
Special to the GUARDIAN

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

THE "CHILDREN'S WORLD" is the name of the big department store opposite the Savoy Hotel. The finishing touches were being put to it when we arrived. There was frantic activity with cranes lifting up the last roof sections, bulldozers attacking piles of bricks and earth, an endless series of trucks disgorging packages and crates of toys and children's clothing.

After only a few days of seeing Moscow a little as Muscovites see it—by trolley-bus and subway instead of taxi—it seemed natural that the largest and most modern department store in Moscow should be a children's store; that top Soviet leaders should inspect it on opening day. Moscow, and I suppose the Soviet Union as a whole, seems to be a children's world. One enters a trolley-bus or subway with children and people shoot out of their seats to offer them to the children—and their parents. Special seats set aside in buses and trains for mothers and children supplement the spontaneously offered seats, and this applies to **fathers** with children, too.

THE PRIVILEGED CLASS: People seem to walk around with their pockets stuffed with cakes and sweets just on the off chance they are going to meet children. It happens all the time. If a child is left for five minutes alone with a taxi-driver, as happened often enough during those first few days of visiting various administrations to get settled, he is usually found with the driver's cap on his head, his wrist watch on his arm, playing with the steering wheel.

The "Children's World" occupies an entire city block in the heart of Moscow. Inside, it is a luxurious palace of plate glass and chrome, of polished granite wall facings and marble columns. Fourteen escalators connect the floors. There is a special children's cafe, a mother-and-child rest room and interpreters' service for foreign visitors. Some of the 12,000 varieties of toys and other goods offered can be bought in slot machines. Prices in general are on a level with or slightly lower than those in Western Europe. (This again is a discrimination in favor of children because clothing and footwear for adults are still very dear by West European standards.)

Clothing, footwear, crockery and furniture—all of acute interest to a family about to establish itself in Moscow—are all very expensive. Other things are extraordinarily cheap. High-quality long-playing records are just one dollar apiece for twelve-inch and 70 cents for ten-inch.

CAPITALISTS PAY: Medical service, in our case, was complicated. We arrived with an assortment of illnesses—influenza, tonsilitis, post-whooping cough, bronchial complications, bad back and, as the first check-up disclosed, a collection of tropical intestinal worms. The administrative authorities at the special polyclinic for foreigners ignored the Australian government's attempt to "denationalize" me and declared me a citizen of the capitalist world. I would therefore pay. My wife, being Bulgarian and thus from the socialist world, need not pay. Children clearly belong to the mother more than to the father, so they would not pay. Three weeks' daily electrical treatment for a bad back, including several doctors' and specialists' consultations, cost me $45. For Soviet citizens of course, medical treatment is absolutely free and latest figures show one doctor for about every 700 inhabitants.

PENSIONS AND RENT: Such services help to compensate for the abnormally high prices of some goods, and presumably these high prices help pay for the services. Free medicine is only one. Pensions are another. We had hoped to find a "babushka" (grandmother) to help with the children, but found the "babushka" system had almost collapsed since the new pension laws were adopted last year. After the age of 55, women get 300-1,200 rubles a month, depending on the type and duration of their previous work. The average pension is about what they could earn as "babushkas."

Rents are absurdly low. A chauffeur of our acquaintance earns 1,800 rubles a month (high because he works for a foreigner). Of this he pays only 20 for rent. In other words, with one month's salary he can pay his rent for 7½ years. His wife earns 800 rubles. On the other hand, their apartment is wretchedly small, a single room with kitchenette and bathroom. But even a modern, five-room apartment in the skyscraper where ballerina Galina Ulanova lives, costs less than 200 rubles a month.

HOUSING IS ROUGH: Children figure again in the allotment of apartments. Our chauffeur friend and his wife are recently married and have no children. When the first baby comes along they will have the right to ask for and get something better.

Housing, especially in Moscow, is an awful problem. The city has doubled its population since the end of the war, to reach 8,000,000. The "cold war" has meant an enormous diversion of labor power and funds that should have gone into housing, to build A- and H-bombs, super-rockets, jet planes and all the rest of it, not forgetting some 600 huge industrial enterprises delivered to China and the Eastern European socialist states.

It is obvious, after only a few weeks here, that if a journalist wants to take any particular line he can find his illustrations for it. If he wants to prove that socialism does not work because a fair suit of clothes cost $140, he can find his illustrations. If he wants to prove it is a paradise because medical aid is free and long-playing records cost 70 cents, then he has his illustration, too.

The only thing I think would be difficult for any honest journalist to illustrate would be the thesis that Russians at any level want war and that children are not on top of the world here.